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ABSTRACT

The Japanese system of honorification shows respect either to the subject or to the direct or indirect object of the sentence. The selection of the polite or plain styles of speech determines the level of honorifics. The increase in mass communication and public speaking has led to a search for a reasonably polite but not old-fashioned or pompous style; four types of innovating expressions are discussed here. The use of two types of honorifics, governed by the subject and by the direct or indirect object, are discussed and use of polite forms is outlined. The first of the four types of innovations discussed is the use of honorifics governed by the object in place of those governed by the subject. The second is the deviated use of polite form "mas" in place of honorifics, the third is the doubling of causative forms, and the last is the deviated use of "age" (give something to one's superior or equal) in place of a polite form. Each language form discussed is illustrated with examples in Japanese. (CHK)

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INNOVATING USES OF JAPANESE HONORIFICS AND POLITE FORMS*

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Japanese has a rich system of honorification. It serves the purpose of showing respect either to the subject or to the direct or indirect object of the sentence. Roughly speaking, the decision whether to use honorifics or not is made on the basis of consideration whether the subject, or the direct or indirect object is superior to the speaker in his social status and / or age.[1]

It is also well known that Japanese has a distinction between at least two styles, i.e. plain and polite. The polite style is used to show respect to addressee(s).

Choice of style decides what level of honorifics to use. Therefore, the plain style tends to make very little use of honorific expressions, while the polite style abounds in honorification and is marked with the polite markers, mas after verbs, and des after adjectives and nouns.

The distinction between the plain and polite styles and appropriate uses of honorifics have helped to establish and keep good interpersonal relations in the situation of personal, face to face communication, where the addressees are already known to the speaker or in front of him. Even in fast-moving urban communities, reasonable use of honorifics is very much appreciated and even demanded in personal communication among adults.

With the development of modern mass communication media, the Japanese people have become aware of increasing confrontation with the necessity for depersonalized style of speaking to unknown and indefinite groups of people, large or small in number. I will tentatively call this type of communication public speaking. Public speaking in this sense includes lectures, speeches, public discussions at meetings and conferences, announcements and discussions on the radio and television, and so on.

In the past we commonly used a special public speaking style, which typically has de-ar or its polite form, de-ari-mas, both for sentences ending with verbs and adjectives, as in (1) and (2) below.

(1) kono yoo ni kak-u no de ari-mas

this way in write-Non-Past that be-Polite-Non-Past

"This is supposed to be written in this way."

(2) watakusi wa syuugiin-gin de ari-mas-u

I Congressman be-Polite-Non-Past

"I am a Congressman."

Nowadays this style tends to sound too rigid, too pompous, and somewhat old-fashioned, especially to the ear of young people. Under these circumstances, there seems to have been a conscious or unconscious attempt on the part of most of us to find out a reasonably polite, but not too pompous or too personal, style for public speaking.

This attempt is reflected in various aspects of the language, from which four types of innovating expressions commonly found in public communication will be discussed in this paper. The innovations chosen here reflect some of the common types of linguistic change, namely, generalization of contexts of rules, reanalysis, and grammaticalization conforming to existing surface forms.[2]

These innovating expressions are all deviated in one way or another from the standpoint of the standard grammar with respect to the use of honorifics and polite forms. The first type of innovation is the use of honorifics governed by the object in place of those governed by the subject, the second is the deviated use of polite form mas in place of honorifics, the third is the doubling of causative forms, and the last is the deviated use of age (give something to one's superior or equal) in place of a polite form.

First let us see the standard use honorifics and polite forms.

I. Honorifics.

There are two types of honorification: one is governed by the subject of a sentence, and the other by the direct or indirect object of a sentence. In the examples given below, the single underlines indicate honorifics, the double underlines polite forms, and the wavy lines the noun phrases which trigger honorification.

1. Honorifics governed by the subject. (Type A)

This type of honorifics are used to show respect to the subject superior to the speaker and the addressee. If the addressee is superior to both the subject and the speaker, and the speaker is the lowest in the hierarchy, the low level of honorifics of this type is used.[3]

(a) The low level.

(3) sensei ga hon o kak-are-ta

teacher book write-Hon-A-Past

"The teacher wrote a book."

(4) syatyoo-san ga ko-rare-ta

president of the company come-Hon-A-Past

"The president of the company came."

(5) Nakazima-kyoozyu ga kooen o s-are-ta

Prof. public lecture do-Hon-A-Past

"Prof. Nakazima gave a public lecture."

The honorific form used on this level is rare (after Vowel-verbs) or are (after Consonant-verbs).[4] Honorific prefixes attached to nouns, i.e. o for Japanese native words, and go for words of Chinese origin, do not usually appear on this level.

(b) The middle level

(6) sensei ga go-hon o o-kaki-ni-nat ta

Hon-A book write Hon-A-Past

"The teacher wrote a book."

(7) sensei ga (go)-kooen o nasat-ta

teacher Hon-A public lecture do-Hon-A

"The teacher gave a public lecture."

(8) syatyoo-san ga o-sake o mesiagat-ta

president Hon-A wine drink-Hon-A

"The president of the company drank wine."

(9) katyoo-san wa kai ni oide-ni nari-mas-u ka

head of the section meeting go Hon-A Polite-Non-Past Q

"Are you going to the meeting?"

These examples show that honorific prefix go or o appears on this level. The

(13) Yamada-san ga sensei ni hon o o-todoke-si-ta[7]

teacher to book send Hon-B-Past

"Mr. Yamada sent the book to the teacher."

(14) Yamada-san ga sensei o o-okuri-si-ta

teacher see off-Hon-B-Past

"Mr. Yamada saw the teacher off."

(15) Yamada-san ga sensei ni go-soodan-si-ta

teacher with consult-Hon-B-Past

"Mr. Yamada consulted with the teacher."

(16) Yamada-san ga sensei o go-sinsatu-si-ta

teacher examine-Hon-B-Past

"Mr. Yamada examined the teacher."

In (13) and (15) in the above, the indirect objects have triggered honorification, while in (14) and (16) the direct objects function as triggers. Honorific prefix o is used in (13) and (14), and go in (15) and (16), in which go is the only honorific element, due to the presence of su (si before Past) in the verb stems of Chinese origin.[8]

There is another type of honorifics which belong to this level; one is o-age-su (give the favor of), and the other sasi-age (give the favor of). These expressions mean, in addition to honorification, that the subject does a favor to the direct or indirect object.

(17) Yamada-san ga sensei ni hon o todoke-te o-age-si-ta

sasi-age-ta

teacher to book send give a favor-Past

"Mr. Yamada sent a book to the teacher." -- literally --

"Mr. Yamada did a favor to the teacher by sending a book to him."

(18) Yamada-san ga sensei o tazune-te o-age-si-ta

sasi-age-ta

teacher visit give a favor-Past

honorific plus verb complex is either in the form o-Verb-ni nar or go-Verb-ni nar in most cases.[5] Suppletive forms are used for frequently used verbs, such as nasar for su (do), mesiagar for tab (eat) or nom (drink), oide-ni nar (partially suppletive) for i (be, stay), ku (come), or ik (go), and so on.

Sentence (9) in the above is spoken to katyoo-san (the head of the section), so that both honorifics and polite form mas are needed here.[6]

An extra level might be recognized for honorifics of this type. One is the double use of Type A honorifics, as in (10). The other is the use of asobas in place of ni nar, as in (11) and (12).

(10) katyoo-san ga kai ni go-syusseki-ni nar-are-ta

head of the sec. meeting at Hon-A be present Hon-A Hon-A-Past

"The head of the section was present at the meeting."

(11) sensei ga go-hon o o-kaki-asobasi-ta

teacher Hon-A book write-Hon-A-Past

"The teacher wrote a book."

(12) Nakazima-huzin ga party ni oide-asobasi-mas-u

Mrs. come Hon-A Polite-Non-Past

"Mrs. Nakazima will come to the party."

Both of these super honorifics are now restricted to an old fashioned lady's style, and regarded as non-standard.

2. Honorifics governed by the direct or indirect object. (Type B)

Use of honorifics of this type is not determined according to some absolute objective criteria as to the status of the direct or indirect object, but rather according to the speaker's judgment that the direct or indirect object is superior to him in status. In case the speaker is not the subject, his judgment that the subject is on his side (or a member of his in-group), rather than on the side of the direct or indirect object according to the hierarchy of status is the decisive factor in the choice of Type B honorifics. Three-way distinction can be made in Type B honorification.

(a) The low level.

"Mr. Yamada visited the teacher." -- literally --

"Mr. Yamada did a favor to the teacher by visiting him."

(b) The middle level.

(19) Yamada-san ga sensei ni hon o (o)-todoke-sase-te itadai-ta

teacher to book send Cause receive the favor-Past

"Mr. Yamada sent a book to the teacher." -- Hon-B

literally --

"Mr. Yamada received the favor of the teacher's letting him send a book to the teacher."

(20) Yamada-san ga sensei o okur-ase-te itadai-ta

o-okura-sase-te itadai-ta

teacher see off Cause receive the favor-Past

Hon-B

"Mr. Yamada saw the teacher off." -- literally --

"Mr. Yamada received the favor of the teacher's letting him see the teacher off."

(21) Yamada-san ga sensei ni go-soodan-sase-te itadai-ta

teacher with consult Cause receive the favor-Past

"Mr. Yamada consulted with the teacher." -- literally -- Hon-B

"Mr. Yamada received the favor of the teacher's letting him consult with the teacher."

(22) Yamada-san ga sensei o sinsatu-sase-te itadai-ta

teacher examine Cause receive the favor-Past

Hon-B

"Mr. Yamada examined the teacher." -- literally --

"Mr. Yamada received the favor of the teacher's letting him examine the teacher."

Strictly speaking, sase-te itadak (receive the favor of letting one do something) expressed humbleness of the subject, rather than deference to the direct or indirect object. Thus, honorification employs two types of expressions, honorific and humble.[9]

(c) The high level.

(23) Yamada-san ga sensei o o-okuri moosi-age-ta

teacher see off Hon-B-Past

"Mr. Yamada saw the teacher off."

(24) Yamada-san ga sensei ni go-soodan moosi-age-ta

teacher with consult Hon-B-Past

"Mr. Yamada consulted with the teacher."

(25) Yamada-san ga sensei o go-sinsatu moosi-age-ta

teacher examine Hon-B-Past

"Mr. Yamada examined the teacher."

Moosi-age is a super honorific expression as a whole, and age in this expression does not have the sense "give a favor."

II. Polite forms.

The use of polite forms are not contingent on the presence of honorifics, as the following example shows.

(26) kinoo wa ame ga huri-masi-ta

yesterday rain fall-Polite-Past

"It rained yesterday."

As was stated before, mas is used after verbs, and des after adjectives and predicative nominals. Sentences (27) - (30) below are some of the already given examples in the polite style.

(27) sensei ga go-hon o o-kaki-ni nari-masi-ta

"The teacher wrote a book." (=(6))

(28) Yamada-san ga sensei o o-okuri-si-masi-ta

"Mr. Yamada saw the teacher off." (=(14))

(29) Yamada-san ga sensei o tazune te sasi-age-masi-ta

"Mr. Yamada visited the teacher." (=(18))

(30) Yamada-san ga sensei o go-sinsatu moosi-age-masi-ta

"Mr. Yamada examined the teacher." (=(25))

(31) and (32) below are examples with des.

(31) Yamada-san wa isya des-u

doctor be-Non-Past

"Mr. Yamada is a doctor."

(32) Yamada-san wa itumo isogasi-i des-u

always busy

"Mr. Yamada is always busy."

A super polite form gozai-mas is used in place of des, in (33) and (34).[10]

(33) Taroo wa watakusi no tyoonan de gozai-mas-u

my oldest son Polite-be-Non-Past

"Taro is my oldest son."

(34) tikagoro wa totemo o-samuu gozai-mas-u

recently very cold Polite-be-Non-Past

"It has been very cold recently."

As is clear in sentences (26) - (34), polite forms appear between the predicate and the Tense Morpheme in main sentences. When a polite form appears in a main sentence, or in the last sentence of a conjoined construction, there are three possibilities of occurrences of polite forms in a subordinate sentence or a conjoined sentences: [11] (a) obligatory non-occurrence, (b) obligatory occurrence, (c) optional occurrence.

(a) Obligatory non-occurrence of polite forms.

(35)a. ware-ware wa yoku tabe-te, yoku hataraki-masi-ta

we well eat and hard work-Polite-Past

"We ate well, and worked hard."

b. *ware-ware wa yoku tabe-masi-te, yoku hataraki-masi-ta

Polite Polite

(the same translation as a)

(36)a. kinoo tazune-te ki-ta hito ga Yamada-san des-u

yesterday visit come-Past man Mr. be-Polite-Non-Past

"The man who came to visit us yesterday is Mr. Yamada."

b. *kinoo tazune-te ki-masi-ta hito ga Yamada-san des-u

Polite Polite

(the same translation as a)

(37)a. watasi wa asa itiban no hikooki ni maniaw-u yoo ni

I morning first flight for in time be in order to

haya-ku oki-masi-ta

early get up-Polite-Past

"I got up early to be in time for the first flight in the morning."

b. *watasi wa asaitiban no hikooki ni maniawi-mas-u yoo ni

Polite

haya-ku oki-masi-ta

(the same translation as a)

The ungrammaticality of the b sentences in the above indicates that the internal occurrence of polite forms is not allowed in these contexts.

(b) Obligatory occurrence of polite forms.

(38)a. Yamada-kun wa moo paper o dasi-masi-ta si, Katoo-kun mo

already hand in Polite-Past and, also

type o owari-masi-ta

finish Polite-Past

"Yamada has already handed in the paper, and Kato has finished typing."

b. *Yamada-kun wa moo paper o dasi-ta si, Katoo-kun mo

moo type o owari-masi-ta

Polite

(the same translation as a)

(39)a. Yamada-kun wa gakusei des-u ga, Satoo-kun wa

student be-Polite-Non-Past but,

kaisyain des-u

a company employee be-Polite-Non-Past

"Yamada is a student, but Kato works for a firm."

b. *Yamada-kun wa gakusei da ga, Satoo-kun wa kaisya-in des-u

(the same translation as a) Polite

(40)a. issyuukan mae ni tegami o kaki-masi-ta kara,

a week ago at letter write-Polite-Past as,

moo henzi ga ku-ru desyoo

soon answer come-Non-Past Polite Presumptive

"As I wrote the letter one week ago, the answer will come soon."

b. *issyuukan mae ni tegami o kai-ta kara, moo henzi ga

ku-ru desyoo

(the same translation as a)

The b sentences in the above are ungrammatical, because polite forms must appear in the internal sentence final position in these contexts.

(c) Optional occurrence of polite forms.

(41)a. haha wa tama ni soto e de-mas-u to

mother after a long interval out go-Polite-Non-Past when

naka-naka kaet-te ki-masen

readily come home Polite-Neg-Non-Past

"When my mother goes out after a long interval, she does not come home readily."

b. haha wa tama ni soto e de-ru to, naka-naka kaet-te ki-masen

(the same translation as a)

(42)a. watasi wa Tookyoo e tuki-masi-tara, sugu

I at arrive Polite when immediately

katoo-san ni ai-ni iki-mas-u

see to go Polite-Non-Past

"I will go to see Mr. Kato as soon as I arrive in Tokyo."

b. watasi wa Tookyoo e tui-tara, sugu Katoo-san ni

ai-ni iki-mas-u

(the same translation as a)

In the case of (41) and (42), the use of mas in the subordinate sentence is optional.

The above description of the distribution of polite forms is by no means exhaustive, but it gives the general idea of the situation,[12] which will be helpful in understanding the nature of innovating uses of polite forms.

III. Innovating uses of honorifics and polite forms.

1. The first two types of innovations appear mostly in request sentences addressed to a group of people. (i) is the use of Type B in place of Type A honorifics, while (ii) is the use of polite form mas in place of Type A honorifics.

(i) Type B in place of Type A honorifics.

(42)a. *ryookin o o-harai-si-te kara, o-hairi kudasai[13]

fee pay Hon-B after, Hon-A enter Polite-Imperative

"Please enter after paying the fee."

b. ryookin o o-harai-ni nari-masi-te kara, o-hairi kudasai

pay Hon-A Polite after Hon-A Polite Imp.

(the same translation as a)

c. ryookin o o-harai-ni nat-te kara, o-hairi kudasai

Hon-A Hon-A Polite Imp.

(the same translation as a)

In (43), the a sentence is an example of Type (i) innovations, whereas the b and c sentences conform to the standard usage. Just as in the case of (42), mas can optionally appear in the subordinate sentences of the b and c sentences in (43). Since in each of these sentences the subject of the subordinate clause is the second person, who is entitled to due respect, Type A honorifics must be used, as in the b and c sentences in the above.

(43a) is one of the typical innovations often used by tour guides, people at information centers, etc., whose duties are to speak to a group of people.

The reasons for this type of innovation seem to be the following: (a) The b sentence is felt to be too polite, with honorifics and a polite form, in an address to a group of unknown people, (b) The c sentence is still on the middle level of Type A honorifics, (c) O-Verb-su, which is on the low level of Type B is taken to be on the low level of Type A honorifics, (d) The contexts for the rules of honorification are generalized in the case of the second person subject. Namely, the subject is now the relevant context for both Type A and Type B honorification.

The loss of the context of Type B honorification is not limited to public speaking in some dialect, so that sentences like (44a) below is also used in personal communication, with mas added to show a little more deference than mere o-Verb-su would convey.

(44)a. # Katoo-san ni o-ai-si-masi-tara, yorosi-ku ossyat-te

Hon-B see-Polite when, give my regards-Hon-A

kudasai

Polite-Imp.

"When (if) you meet Mr. Kato, please give my regards to him."

b. Katoo-san ni o-ai-ni nari-masi-tara, yorosi-ku ossyat-te

Hon-A Polite Hon-A

kudasai (the same translation as a)

Polite-Imp.

c. Katoo-san ni o-ai-ni nat-tara, yorosi-ku ossyat-te kudasai

Hon-A Hon-A Polite-Imp.

(the same translation as a)

(ii) Use of polite form mas in place of Type A honorifics.

(45)a. #o-kaze o hiki-masen yoo ni go-tyuui kudasai

Hon-A Polite Hon-A Polite-Imp.

"Please take care not to catch a cold."

b. ?o-kaze o o-hiki-ni nari-masen yoo ni go-tyuui kudasai

Hon-A Hon-A Polite Hon-A Polite-Imp.

(the same translation as a)

c. o-kaze o o-hiki-ni nar-ana-i yoo ni go-tyuui kudasai

Hon-A Hon-A Hon-A Polite-Imp.

(the same translation as a)

(46)a. *kono kuruma ni nori-mas-u kata wa

this car in ride Polite-Non-Past person

yoyaku o si-te (nasat-te) kudasai

reservations do do-Hon-A Polite-Imp.

"Those who are going to ride in this car, please make reservations."

b. *kono kuruma ni o-nori-ni nari-mas-u kata wa yoyaku o

Hon-A Polite

nasat-te kudasai

Hon-A Polite-Imp. (the same translation as a)

c. kono kuruma ni o-nori-ni nar-u kata wa

Hon-A

yoyaku o nasat-te kudasai

Hon-A Polite-Imp.

The a sentences of (45) and (46) are examples of Type (ii) innovations. In these sentences Type A honorifics, which are required in the standard usuage due to the understood second person subject, do not appear in their subordinate sentences. Furthermore, contrary to the case of Type (i) innovation, in which the use of polite form mas in the subordinate sentence is optional, Type (ii) innovation occurs in a context which does not allow mas.

This is indicated by the ungrammaticality of the b sentences in the above.[14] Thus, the a sentences violate two restrictions in the grammar.

What is involved in Type (ii) innovation is the reanalysis of mas as a Type A honoric form for the second person subject. This is quite understandable, since polite forms are the expressions of deference to the second person, the addressee.[15] This innovation is also extensively used in public speaking.[16]

2. Type (iii) and (iv) innovations are not limited to request sentences.

(iii) Doubling of causatives.

Sase-te itadak is a Type B honorific form, with a literal meaning "receive a favor of letting one do something". In our examples (19) - (22), sase-te itadak means "receive the favor of the direct or indirect object who lets the subject do something to him". Therefore, the object in this context is both the granter of the permission and the affectee or the goal of the action of the subject. Sase-te itadak is also used as a polite form. This is shown by two facts: If the addressee is superior to the subject and the speaker, (1) sase-te itadaki-mas can be used even when the object is equal or inferior to the subject, or a member of his in-group, (2) sase-te itadaki-mas can be used without the object. (47) and (48) are examples of (1) and (2) respectively.

(47) Yamada-san ga kodomo ni siokuri o s-ase-te itadaki-

child allowance send-Caus-receive a favor

masi-ta

Polite-Past

"Mr. Yamada sent allowance to his child (with your favor of letting him do so)."

(48) Yamada-san ga nihon no uta o utaw-ase-te itadaki-

Japanese song sing-Caus receive a favor

mas-u

Polite-Non-Past

"Mr. Yamada is going to sing a Japanese song."

Notice that in (47), with the inferior object, the meaning of the second person's causation (i.e., letting the subject do something) is retained, while in (48), without the object, there is no such meaning.

That is, sase-te itadaki-mas is no more than a polite form in this context. We are concerned in this section with this use of sase-te itadak, because it is very commonly used in public speaking as a polite form, without the meaning of causation. Sase-te kudasai (please let me do something), which is the request form of sase-te itadak, is also prevalent in public speaking.

Due to the loss of the causative meaning of sase, some people, especially young people, use double causatives, such as the following.

(49)a. #iw-as-ase-te itadaki-mas-u[17]
asi

say-Caus-Caus receive a favor-Polite-Non-Past

"I would like to speak."

b. iw-ase-te itadaki-mas-u
Caus

(50)a. # yom-as-ase-te itadaki-mas-u
asi

read-Caus-Caus receive a favor-Polite-Non-Past

"I would like to read . . . "

b. yom-ase-te itadaki-mas-u
Caus

(51)a. # utaw-as-ase-te itadaki-mas-u
asi

sing-Caus-Caus receive a favor-Polite-Non-Past

"I would like to sing."

b. utaw-ase-te itadaki-mas-u
Caus

In (49) - (51), the a sentences are Type (iii) innovation, while the b sentences conform to the standard usage. A peculiarity of this innovation is the fact that it does not involve Vowel-verbs. The a sentences of (52) and (53) below are marked with double stars to show that Vowel-verbs with double causatives are unacceptable even to the innovating dialect of this type.

(52)a. **tabe-sas-ase-te itadaki-mas-u
eat Caus-Caus

"I would like to eat."

b. tabe-sase-te itadaki-mas-u
Caus

(53)a. **oki-sas-ase-te kudasai
get up Caus-Caus-Polite-Imp.

"Please let me get up."

b. oki-sase-te kudasai
Caus

To understand why such doubling is employed, and why it appears only with a Consonant-verb, we have to know two facts about the language. First there is an affix which forms transitive verbs form intransitive Consonant-verbs, as is seen in such intransitive-transitive pairs as those in (54) below.

(54)	Intransitive		Transitive	
	her	(decrease)	her-as	(decrease)[18]
	kawak	(dry)	kawak-as	(dry)
	tob	(fly)	tob-as	(fly)

Transitive formative as is causative in meaning.

Second, the causative formative sase (after Vowel-verbs) or ase (after Consonant-verbs) has variant form sas or as, the latter of which is indistinguishable from transitive formative as.

In this type of innovation, sase in Type B honorifics is first reanalyzed as purely and element in a polite form. Next, conforming to an existing morpheme internal structure, intransitive Consonant-verb+as, transitive Consonant-verbs get as attached to them.

There is also Intransitive + as + ase combination as a surface form, as in (55)

(55)		
	her-as-ase	"cause someone to decrease something"
	kawak-as-ase	"cause someone to dry something"
	tob-as-ase	"cause someone to fly something"

This means that the result of Transitive + double causatives also conforms to an existing surface form.

Type (iii) is clearly a case of generalization of derivational rule to cover derivation of transitive verbs both from intransitive and transitive Consonant-verbs.

If we follow the lexicalist hypothesis in a narrow sense, we should classify transitive verbs in (54), her-as, kawak-as, tob-as, as single lexical items, and the innovating forms such as iw-as-ase (49a), yom-as-ase (50a), etc. as involving a syntactically derived causative. However, in languages like Japanese which have the so called agglutinative property, the derivational and syntactic processes cannot be as sharply distinguished as they are in languages like English.

There is another type of innovation which shows that Type (iii) innovation is not an isolated phenomenon.

First observe that in the following sas and kas are variant forms of transitive formative as.

(56)	a. Intransitive	b. Transitive	c. Transitive
	ne	ne-sas	ne-kas
	"sleep"	"put to sleep"	"put to sleep"

The two transitive forms in the above are equivalent in meaning, both of which have the regular internal structure, intransitive verb + transitive formative. In (57), on the other hand, the b forms conform to the regular internal structure, while the c forms have a portion of transitive formative -- a from as -- and another transitive formative kas.

(57)	a. Intransitive	b. Transitive	c. Transitive
	hagure	hagur-as	hagur-a-kas
	"go astray"	"divert"	"divert"
	tir	tir-as	tir-a-kas
	"scatter"	"scatter, strew"	"leave things in disorder"

The b and c forms in the above are well established lexical items, and there may be a slight semantic difference between them. Moreover, there are a few transitive verbs with kas for which the pairing with intransitive verbs is impossible. Those in (58) are some examples.

(58) sidekas

"do something unexpected"

hiyakas

"make fun of somebody"

tyakas

"make fun of something"

Interestingly enough, there is an innovation of doubling transitive formatives, conforming to the morphological structure of (57c).

(59)	a. Intransitive	b. Transitive	c. Transitive
	okure	okur-as	okur-a-kas
	"delay"	"slow up, delay, put the clock back"	"slow up, delay, put the clock back"
	suber	suber-as	suber-a-kas [19]
	"slide"	"slide"	"slide"
	zure	zur-as	zur-a-kas
	"do not fit"	"put something off the target"	"put something off the target"

There seems to be a semantic difference between the b and c forms, but it is not very clear to me.

Thus, there is another example of generalization of a derivational rule to cover derivation of transitive verbs both from intransitive and transitive verbs.

Use of double causatives is now extended to most monosyllabic, and sometimes disyllabic, transitive Consonant-verbs. Due to the presence of this newly added causative formative, those expressions convey the meaning of rather strong insistence.

(iv) Innovating use of age.

Age (give) is used to one's equals or familiar superiors. In the standard dialect, this verb is not used when the recipient (the indirect object) is one's inferior or a member of one's in-group. Yar is the proper verb to use in this context.

As was illustrated in Section 1-2, age is an element in two honorific forms of Type B, that is, o-age-su, and sasi-age. Due to these factors, this verb has become to be taken as one of the polite forms by some people. Thus, we often come across with such sentences as the following.

(60)a. *watasi wa uti no akanboo ni milk o age-masi-ta

our baby give-Polite-Past

"I gave some milk to our baby."

b. watasi wa uti no akanboo ni milk o yari-masi-ta

(the same translation as a)

(61)a. *uti de wa inu ni kono esa o age-mas-u

our family dog to this food give-Polite-Non-Past

"We give our dog this food."

b. uti de wa inu ni kono esa o yari-mas-u

(the same translation as a)

(62)a. *watasi wa kodomo ni hon o kat-te age-masi-ta

I child to book buy give-Polite-Past

"I bought a book for my child."

b. watasi wa kodomo ni hon o kat-te yari-masi-ta

(the same translation as a)

Type (iv) innovation is found frequently both in public speaking and personal communication. This means that age has undergone the process of reanalysis as a polite form without the restriction that it should not be used when the recipient is one's inferiors.[20]

Notes.

* This is a slightly expanded version of my open lecture, entitled "Style of Public Speaking in Modern Japanese", at University of Massachusetts at Amherst on April 8, 1974.

I am indebted to the professors and students who attended the lecture for comments.

The four types of expressions discussed in this paper have long existed in some regional dialects. Therefore, they are not at all new to some speakers. (This comment was made by Tae Okada and S-I Harada.) Their wide use in public speaking is in fact an innovating aspect of Modern Japanese.

1. Some qualifications should be added to this statement, because the status of the subject or that of the direct or indirect object, relative to that of the speaker and/or that of the addressee is relevant to the decision. This will be explained in Section I.

2. Generalization of contexts of rules means the loss of distinction among the contexts for two or more related rules, the result of which is a single context for the related rules in question. By reanalysis, I mean that an element is classified in a category different from its original category. I owe the clarification of these concepts to the lectures by Hale, Harris, and Kiparsky at M.I.T.

3. When the addressee is higher in status than the speaker, a polite form is needed. Thus (3)', instead of (3), is an appropriate sentence in this context, where the following relation holds: the addressee > the subject > the speaker. (A > B means "A is higher in status than B."

(3)' sensei ga hon o kak-are-masi-ta

Hon-A-Polite

"The teacher wrote a book."

(3), which does not contain mas, is appropriate when the addressee is equal or inferior to the speaker.

4. A Vowel-verb is a verb stem with a vowel as the last segment. A Consonant-verb is one with a consonant as the last segment.

5. O and go prefixed to verbs are the same as those prefixed to nouns. In the honorific sequence o-Verb-ni nar, a Japanese native verb is turned into the nominal form with suffix i (for Consonant-verbs) or Ø (for Vowel-verbs). A verb of Chinese origin is morphologically a noun of Chinese origin plus su (do), so that it is prefixed with go.

6. The use of the second person pronoun anata (you) is avoided, especially when the addressee is one's superior. Within a family, kinship terms are used instead. Outside the family, official titles such as sensei (teacher), katyoo-san (the head of a section), are used in place of anata (you).

7. If it is the teacher's book, go-hon (book) must be used.

8. One of the productive verb derivation in Japanese is to take foreign verbs as nouns, attaching su (do) to them. For example, doraibu-su (drive), detto-su (date), sain-su (sign). However, honorific go is attached only to the verbs of Chinese origin, not to loan verbs from other foreign languages.

9. Sase-te itadak is also used to show deference to the addressee. This use is discussed in Section III-2. If itas (do-Hon) is used in place of the low level su (do in O-Verb-su, the expression will turn into the middle level. For example, (13) will be turned into (13)' to get a middle level honrific of Type B.

(13)' Yamada-san ga sensei ni hon o o-todoke itasi-masi-ta Nasar is a Type A honorific, and itas is a Type B honorific, for su (do). Itas always accompanies mas. I omit the discussion of this form, since discussion of individual suppletive forms will take us too far afield.

10. Gozai-mas is used simply as a super polite form, when the subject is a non-human noun phrase as is (34). In the case of a human noun phrase, it is used as a super polite form, if the subject is to be inferior to the addressee, and in a similar status as that of the speaker, as in (33). In (i) below, too, the subject, Yamada-san, is judged to be inferior to the addressee, and in the same status as the speaker.

(i) Yamada-san ga katyoo de gozai-mas-u

"Mr. Yamada is the head of the section."

For a superior human subject, irassyai-mas is used, as in (ii).

(ii) Yamada-san ga katyoo de irassyai-mas-u

11. A polite form cannot be used in a subordinate clause or in a sentence other than the last of the conjoined construction, if the main sentence or the last sentence of the conjoined construction lacks a polite form.

12. Restrictions on internal distribution of polite forms are not morphologically conditioned. My tentative general statement reads as follows: (1) Excepting in relative and complement clauses, sentence internal finite verbs must accompany polite forms. (38)- (40) are such examples. (Whether a verb is finite or not can be judged by whether it can accompany Past Tense morpheme or not. Some conjunctions like yoo ni (in order to) and to (when) permit only Non-Past Tense morpheme. In such cases verbs are not used as finite verbs.) (2) Among sentence internal non-finite verbs, those followed by te (and), tari (and, or), and yoo ni (in order to) must not accompany a polite form. (3) In the other cases of non-finite verbs and complement noun clauses (followed by complementizers koto, and no), polite forms are optional. Tagashira makes an attempt for explaining this situation in semantic terms, i.e., the closeness of the connection between main and subordinate sentences.

13. Examples of innovations are marked with #.

14. Somehow the use of mas in (45b) seems to be better than (46b).

15. I owe this comment to Akmajian.

16. (45a), for example, is nowadays very often used by weather reporters on the radio. Once I commented on this sentence in one of my classes. To my surprise, I found out about twelve out of twenty graduate students felt the expression to be correct.

17. Asi is an allomorph of as before Past Tense ta.

18. Hyphenation is used to show the internal structure of these transitive verbs. Under the lexicalist hypothesis, these verbs are taken to be morphologically simple, that is, to be made single morphemes.

19. Suber-a-kas may not be an innovation, because we have a noun o-suberakasi (a hair style of court ladies in ancient and medieval times). The innovation seen in (57) is limited to a few lexical item, and by no means as extensive as the four types of innovations discussed in this paper.

20. There may be some regional factors involved in this innovation, but it is impossible to make an exact statement about this at the present moment.

Reference.

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